

saving idea of the European family had come to be identified in the public mind with autocracy at home and the suppression of legitimate discontent by foreign arms. The increasing resort to arbitration in minor matters during the nineteenth century, welcome and useful though it was, afforded no adequate substitute for systematized co-operation. Moreover the experiment that followed the downfall of Napoleon was confined to the European stage. Regional arrangements are still of use, but in the twentieth century they can have little chance of success except as elements in a wider scheme.

For the first time in history it is widely realized to-day that the only way to bridge the gulf between politics and morals at its deepest point is to organize the world as a whole. That nations' will become less determined to secure justice, as they understand it, or to realize their cherished aims is improbable. But it is quite possible that they will learn from bitter experience that on our shrinking and inter-dependent planet the best chance of survival, lies in intelligent co-operation for common ends. The instinct of self-preservation will find expression in novel forms. In a word, the teaching of Machiavelli, which was founded on his experience of Italy in the sixteenth century, can only be confuted by the discovery that in the long run, purely self-regarding action on the part of a state does not pay. Economic contacts are needed for its physical life, and a thousand cultural ties already proclaim our common heritage. As the sense of community broadens among *the* peoples, the sentiment of human¹ solidarity will find expression in their conception of the-state and the action of their governments. If moral principles ultimately extend their sway into the dark forest of international relations, it will be, not because conscience whispers that they should, but because

rival methods
of deciding disputes and obtaining security
have' been tried
and failed. Our best ground for hope lies in the
fact that in
the course of his long ascent man has shown his
capacity not
only to err but to learn—in Bacon's words "
devising new
remedies as time breedeth new mischiefs."

During the four centuries of our modern era
the last word
in political organization has been the nation.
Now that the
world has been unified, by science and culture,
the nation must
take its place as the bridge, the half-way house,
the middle
term, between the individual and the human
family. For this
high purpose it is not only useful but
indispensable. National-
'ism in its deepest meaning is the self-
consciousness of a nation,